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DATE OF THE 'REOCCUPATION' POTTERY FROM THE
PALACE OF MINOS AT KNOSSOS

In a recent issue of *Kadmos*¹ I tried to show that most of the pottery from the site of the palace at Knossos, which Evans and Mackenzie assigned to the "Reoccupation", must be referred on stratigraphic grounds to the "Last Palace" with the Linear B tablets. I suggested a date for the destruction of the "Last Palace" in LM. III A 2, about 1350 B. C. Since I wrote that article, Mr. Popham has published a good deal of the pottery which Evans and Mackenzie assigned to the Reoccupation, and has argued in favour of a date in LM. III B for it². At the same time he has proposed a date for the destruction of the Last Palace with the Linear B tablets at the very beginning of LM. III A 2, between about 1400 B. C. and 1375 B. C. at the latest. Mr. Popham may prove to be right about the date of the destruction of the Last Palace; but it is clearly impossible to form an independent and definitive opinion about this until the whole of the evidence bearing upon the question of the date of the destruction is published and made available. I continue to believe, however, that the bulk of the pottery which Evans and Mackenzie assigned to the Reoccupation must belong to the Last Palace with the Linear B tablets, and I shall try to show that in the shapes and decoration of this pottery (it does not include all the vases which Mr. Popham has published) there is nothing incompatible with a date in LM. III A 2 contemporary with the destruction of the Last Palace.

It may be helpful to review the background and scope of these problems before considering them in detail. There is a vast amount of unpublished pottery from the old excavations on the site of the palace at Knossos, either (mostly fragments) in the new Stratigraphic Museum there, or (mostly complete or restored vases, but including some fragments) in the Museum at Herakleion. A large proportion of this pottery, ranging for the most part from Neo-

¹ *Kadmos* IV (1965), 16—44

² *The Last Days of the Palace at Knossos* (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* V (1964)). *Kadmos* V (1966), 17—24

lithic to LM. I in date, comes from soundings below the floors of the Last Palace and does not concern us. But a great deal of it was allegedly found above the floors of the Last Palace or in surface levels, and the problem is to decide which of all this pottery came from the destruction of the Last Palace with the Linear B tablets. Since virtually the only clay vases which Evans published as belonging to the Last Palace were the huge pithoi of the West Magazines and the great Palace Style amphorae, it is very probable that among the unpublished pottery there lurk the remains of a number of other, smaller vases, assignable to the same horizon. The region of the palace from which this unpublished pottery came is usually known, but the exact stratigraphic context is in most cases either unknown or open to dispute. Most of this pottery was recovered during the early years of the excavations when the objective was to dig down from the surface until a floor was reached. It was in general assumed that where a floor was reached it belonged to the Last Palace with the Linear B tablets. But in some areas earth floors of the Last Palace were evidently not recognised in excavation, or erosion had removed the later floors so that deposits of earlier periods were exposed immediately below the surface. The earliest deposits revealed in this way during the first year of the excavations in 1900 may have been of MM. III B date. In the Room of the Chariot Tablets, for instance, and the rooms to the north of it, the excavators appear to have gone through earth floors of the Last Palace without noticing them and reached an earlier pavement which, it was later established, had MM. III B deposits above it. During the second year of the excavations (1901) a good deal of LM. I B material was exposed in the area of the Court of the Stone Spout on the east side of the palace.

The recent excavations (1957—61) in the city outside the palace at Knossos have revealed deposits, in places stratified one above the other, assignable to MM. III B, LM. I A, LM. I B, LM. II, and at least two phases of LM. III. A similar range of periods may be represented in the material from the site of the palace. It seems clear that the destruction of the Last Palace with the Linear B tablets cannot be equated with the LM. I B horizon. It is true that the excavators at first assigned the LM. I B pottery which they found to the period of the Last Palace; but they eventually realised that it must be earlier. There is some suggestion that in places they came upon deposits of LM. II material below the floors of the Last Palace with the tablets. In any case it is now generally

agreed that the destruction of the Last Palace took place after the end of LM. II.

The problem that remains therefore is to see whether in the pottery from the old excavations in the palace assignable to LM. III it is possible to distinguish one or more groups which are likely to reflect one or more horizons of destruction or abandonment; and to decide which of these groups may be equated with the burnt destruction in which the Linear B tablets were involved. There is the further problem of whether the tablets need all come from the same horizon of burnt destruction rather than from two or more. There seems to be agreement, however, among those who have gone into the question that the tablets, and the bulk of the sealings (although in regard to the sealings there are certain complications)³, belong to one chronological, even if not strictly to one stratigraphical horizon. That is to say, the internal evidence of the tablets themselves suggests that they are all of one date, and even if it could be proved (in the area of the Early Keep for instance) that they came from above two or more successive floors, the floors in question must have gone out of use within a very short space of time, so that any pottery associated with them, it may be assumed, was of the same stylistic period and virtually indistinguishable.

In the material from the site of the palace Mr. Popham has identified two groups of LM. III pottery, each with a number of complete or largely complete vases assignable to it; and each of these groups appears to reflect a level of destruction or abandonment. The first group is dateable to LM. III A, the second to the succeeding period, LM. III B (Furumark's LM. III B 1). It seems that these are the only two substantial horizons of LM. III pottery to be distinguished in the material from the palace site. We need not therefore assume more than two horizons of destruction or abandonment on any part of the palace site during the LM. III period. I believe Mr. Popham is right in equating the destruction of the Last Palace with the horizon of pottery assignable to LM. III A, which is very marked in the material kept from the old excavations, not only in the palace area, but in the city round it. Some of this LM. III A pottery Evans himself appears to have considered as belonging to the period of the Last Palace. But

³ For the sealings and where they were found, see now Miss M. A. V. Gill, BSA 60 (1965), 58—98

most of it he would no doubt have assigned to the subsequent Reoccupation. The only questions to be discussed therefore are: (1) the exact date within LM. III A that the Last Palace with the tablets was destroyed; and (2) which of the vases so far published are to be assigned to this LM. III A destruction and which to a subsequent reoccupation of the palace site in LM. III B.

(1) *Date of the destruction of the Last Palace within LM. III A.* Mr. Popham has argued that the destruction of the Last Palace took place early in LM. III A, when both LM. III A 1 and LM. III A 2 style pottery was in use, but before the appearance of a developed style of LM. III A 2 which should correspond in time with Furumark's Myc. III A 2 *late* on the mainland. He has recently published eight vases (only three of them, however, from the palace, the other five from buildings in the city outside, the Royal Villa, the House of the High Priest, and the Little Palace)⁴; and suggests a date for them in LM. III A 1 or early in LM. III A 2 at the latest. The only one of these vases which requires comment is the amphoroid crater from the palace⁵. Parts of this are alleged to have come from the fill of a late wall in the South Propylaion; but it can, I think, be demonstrated that the "wall" was really a mound of fallen ruin debris which appears on the earliest plans and is visible in early photos of the excavations⁶.

Mr. Popham may prove to be right in advocating a date early in LM. III A 2 for the destruction level from which these vases are assumed to have come. But there are two points to keep in mind. (1) These eight vases (only three of them actually from the palace) are a small selection of those which Mr. Popham has been able to restore either in whole or in part from their fragments in the Stratigraphic Museum at Knossos, and the restored vases are themselves only a fraction of the very rich collection of decorated fragments, which may or may not (in the case of fragments it must remain uncertain) come from vases involved in the same destruction. Some of the restored vases now exhibited in Herakleion Museum as from this horizon of the destruction of the Last Palace look to me at least as if they could be a shade later than those which Mr. Popham has already published, and it is of course the latest elements assignable to it which must give the date of

⁴ *Antiquity* XL (1966), 24—28

⁵ *Ibid.* pl. Va

⁶ London Institute of Classical Studies, Mycenaean Seminar, Minutes 30 September, 1964, p. 299

the destruction. (2) A comparison of the decoration on these LM. III A vases from Knossos with that on the imported Aegean pottery found at Amarna in Egypt (which Furumark makes the basis for his definition of the latest phase of Myc. III A, his Myc. III A 2 *late*, dated by him about 1375—1300 B. C.) suggests that this Knossos decoration is considerably less devolved and by implication earlier. But it seems that all or most of this Amarna pottery was imported from the mainland, if not from the region of Mycenae itself, and none of it on present evidence need be Cretan⁷. Moreover the comparatively few shapes among the large number of vases represented suggest that it was export ware; the little stirrup jars and bottles, together with the three-handled amphorae, may have been exported with some kind of perfume or fine oil in them. It is therefore just possible that elaborately decorated vases were still being made at Knossos for the use of the palace and great houses at a time when vases with a simpler and more devolved-looking style of decoration were being mass-produced for export at Mycenae or elsewhere on the mainland. For instance, it is generally accepted that the simpler and on the face of it (though this is disputed) derivative designs on the Ephyraean goblets of the mainland are contemporary with if not earlier than their more elaborately decorated equivalents in Crete⁸. Mr. Popham has used a somewhat similar line of argument in an attempt to explain the LM. III A 2 character of the decoration on the large stirrup jar (No. 1, see p. 137) which he would assign to LM. III B⁹. The date of 1350 B. C. which I recently proposed for the destruction of the Last Palace was an approximation, being the mean of the extreme range assigned by Furumark to LM. III A 2 (1400—1300 B. C.). Mr. Popham may be right in urging a date for the destruction nearer the beginning of the period; but it is only with the publication of all the evidence bearing on the question that it will become possible to form an independent opinion which is more than tentative.

(2) *Which of the published LM. III vases from the palace site are to be assigned to the destruction of the Last Palace in LM. III A 2,*

⁷ BSA 58 (1963), 94f., esp. 113 Table 7

⁸ Compare the goblets from the Temple Tomb at Knossos (PM IV 1017 fig. 965), referred by Furumark to LM. III A 2, with the Ephyraean goblets from mainland Korakou and Zygouries assignable to Myc. II (Blegen, Korakou (1921), pls. VI, VII; Zygouries (1928), pl. XV).

⁹ SMA V (1964), 13

and which to a subsequent period of Reoccupation in LM. III B? In the case of the finest decorated vases there is unlikely to be much disagreement, although it may not always be easy to decide whether a particular vase belongs to the period of the Last Palace or to an earlier horizon of LM. II or even LM. I B. This, however, is not a problem of immediate concern; and the vases to be considered are those which have been assigned to LM. III B (Furumark's LM. III B 1). Fig. 1 shows sketches of most of the types of vase which will be discussed. These are not to scale, nor are the drawings strictly accurate. The object of these sketches is simply to make it easier to follow the discussion.

The vases from the site of the palace which have been assigned to LM. III B fall into three main groups:

(1) A group of small fine decorated stirrup jars (types 21 and 22), together with one large stirrup jar (cf. type 20) with octopus decoration, from the Area of the Wheat and the Area of the Chessmen (the region of the Lapidary's Workshop) on the south edge of the palace.

(2) Groups of vases, mostly store jars, many of them plain or with simple decoration, from three main areas in widely separated parts of the palace: (a) the South Terrace Basements, (b) the Room of the Stirrup Jars and the North Entrance Passage, and (c) the Domestic Quarter. The excavators assumed that these three groups of vases must be contemporary, because the same types of vase occurred in them, the unique couple amphorae (type 18), for instance, in (a) and (b), and large stirrup jars (type 20), many with octopus decoration, in all three areas. It is generally agreed that the deposit of plain vases from (d) the School Room, immediately north of (c) the Domestic Quarter, belongs to the same horizon.

(3) Shrine of the Double Axes, with vases (notably one of type 15) and clay figurines. The excavators assumed that these were contemporary with the vases of Group (2).

Mr. Popham has suggested that all the vases of these three groups are to be dated to LM. III B, and has assigned them to a reoccupation of the palace site after the destruction of the Last Palace which contained the Linear B tablets.

I agree with him that the vases of Group (1) are undeniably of LM. III B date, and they must reflect some kind of reoccupation

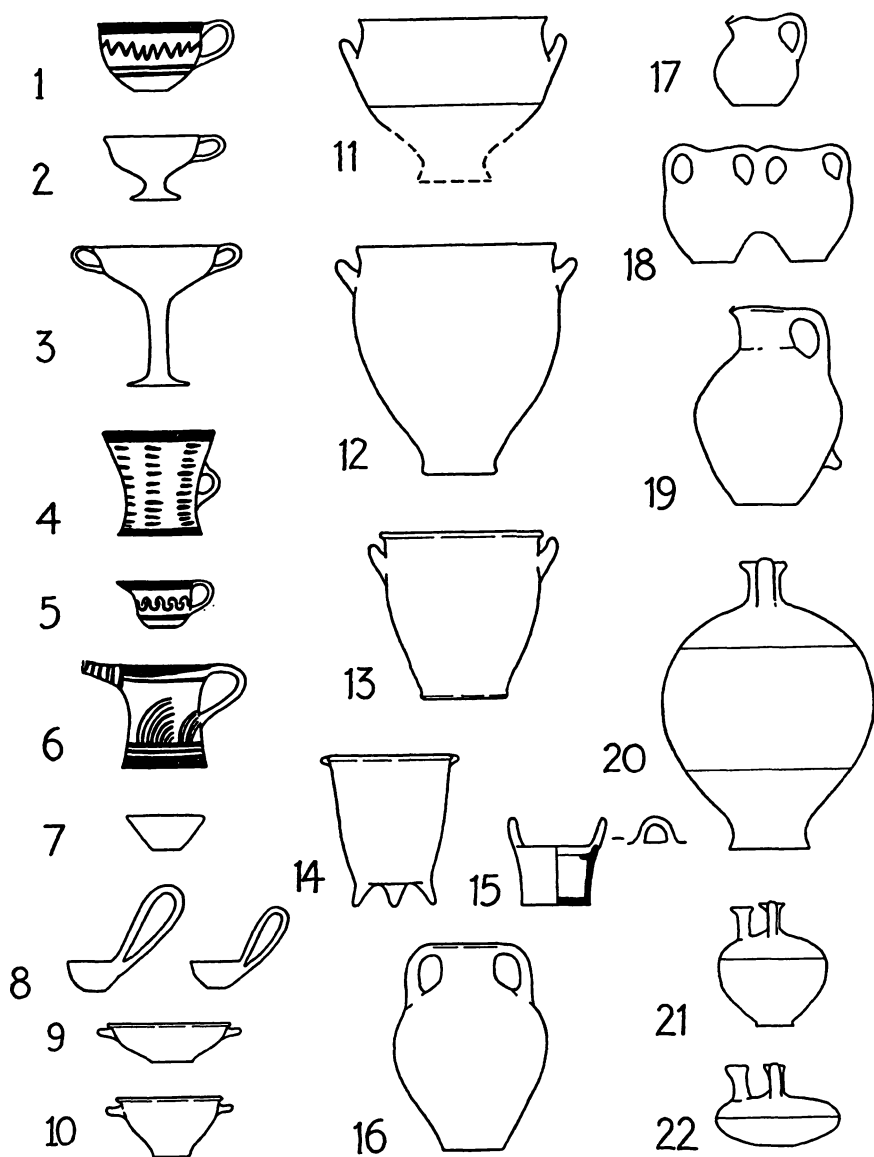


Fig. 1. Types of vases assigned to the Reoccupation

in that part of the palace area where they were found. But those of Group (2) I believe are in fact assignable to LM. III A 2, and come from the destruction level of the Last Palace along with the Linear B tablets, the bulk of the clay sealings, and the fine decorated LM. III A 2 ware to which Mr. Popham has drawn attention. Group (3) (the Shrine of the Double Axes) is also I think likely to be of this horizon of the Last Palace. Mr. Popham has identified a considerable number of these vases, and has published or republished many of them in *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* V (1964). All the thirty four vases listed by Mr. Popham there are assigned by him to LM. III B at the earliest. I present a list of these vases arranged in the three groups which I have distinguished. I shall refer to them hereafter by the numbers which Mr. Popham has given them.

Group (1). LM. III B reoccupation in the region of the earlier Lapidary's Workshop on the south edge of the site of the destroyed palace.

8. Small stirrup jar (cf. type 21)
9. Small stirrup jar (type 21)
10. Small stirrup jar (type 21)
12. Large stirrup jar (cf. type 20) with octopus
13. Small stirrup jar (type 22)
14. Small stirrup jar (cf. type 22)
15. Small stirrup jar (type 21)

Probably to be associated with Group (1).

11. Crater (type 11)

Group (2). From a context which appears to be that of the destruction of the Last Palace, assigned to LM. III A 2.

1. Large stirrup jar (type 20) with flower and wavy band
2. Large stirrup jar (type 20) with wavy band
3. Large stirrup jar (type 20) with wavy band
16. Large stirrup jar (cf. type 20) with octopus
- 17.—19. Couple amphorae (type 18)
20. Large stirrup jar (cf. type 20) with horizontal bands
21. Lentoid flask (unique, and not on Fig. 1)

Probably to be associated with Group (2), but not certainly from the destruction level of the Last Palace.

4. Tankard (type 4) with panels of lattice
5. Tankard (type 4) with vertical rows of strokes

- 6. Spouted tankard (type 6) with multiple stems
- 7. Spouted tankard (cf. type 6) with row of flowers
- 22. Spouted tankard (type 5) with running quirks
- 31. Large stirrup jar (type 20) with octopus
- 32. Large stirrup jar (type 20) with octopus
- 33. Large stirrup jar (type 20) with horizontal bands
- 34. Large stirrup jar (type 20) with wavy band

Group (3). Shrine of the Double Axes.

- 23. Champagne cup (type 2)
 - 24. Small jug with trefoil mouth (type 17)
- Probably to be associated with Group (3)
- 25. High-stemmed kylix (type 3)
 - 26. Plain conical cup (type 7)
 - 27. Champagne cup (type 2)
 - 28. One-handled cup (type 1)

Vases from uncertain contexts omitted from the discussion.

- 29. Hollow stand
- 30. Bowl (LM. III C?).

Group (1). These vases as Mr. Popham has shown must be assigned to LM. III B (Furumark's LM. III B 1). One of them (No. 8) is an import from the mainland of Myc. III B date. Mr. Popham and Professor Palmer agree in believing that these vases are contemporary with those of Groups (2) and (3). But there is no evidence to indicate that they were in any stratigraphic context that would relate them to those of Groups (2) or (3). They are not mentioned in any of the published reports of the excavations, and there appears to be no reference to them in the excavation notebooks. They are only recorded by Mackenzie in his Pottery Notebook for the year 1901 when they were discovered. Professor Palmer has suggested that they came from deep inside the rooms of the Lapidary's Workshop. But the contents of these basement rooms were described by Evans in very great detail in the preliminary report for the year (1901) in which they were excavated¹⁰, and there is no mention of the vases there. It is a reasonable assumption therefore that they were not found in the basements themselves, but as Mr. Boardman has argued at a higher level above them¹¹. I believe that they were immediately below the

¹⁰ BSA 7 (1900—01), 20—21

¹¹ OTKT II 12, 20—21

surface, and that they were either associated with a house of whose walls all traces may have disappeared through stone plundering or erosion, or that they represent offerings placed on the edge of the site of the destroyed palace which had become a sacred area.

Group (2). The vases of this group I suggest are assignable to LM. III A 2. This may seem an extravagant claim in view of the fact that it has come to be accepted that these vases are of LM. III B date. But as I have already indicated¹², there is reason to suppose that Evans at least, while he assigned these vases to a reoccupation of the palace site after the destruction of the Last Palace dated by him about 1400 B. C., always thought of them as belonging to the Amarna horizon, that is to say, on Furumark's system, to LM./Myc. III A 2 *late*. The views of Evans about this, however, are obscured by the fact that he ultimately called the Amarna horizon (to which he also referred the pottery from the destruction of the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes which Furumark assigned to Myc. III A 1) not LM. III A but LM. III B. I should emphasise that there is no question of any attempt on my part to subvert the established sequence of periods or to suggest any serious alteration of their definition in terms of the development of vase shapes and decoration. The system established by Furumark and by others before him is to my mind in its general outlines correct and valid. I shall merely try to show that, by reference to the accepted canons of that system, the vases of Group (2) are more likely perhaps to be of LM. III A 2 than of LM. III B date.

When considering the vases of this group it is important to bear in mind their character. Some of them are cooking pots; many are storage vessels, large and of more or less coarse fabric, with the surface either plain or with comparatively simple decoration. Even when the decoration is more elaborate, it is apt to be limited in its repertory, like the octopus designs which recur on several of the large stirrup jars of type 20. The smaller vases assignable to Group (2) are mostly of rather coarse fabric with simple decoration, or they are plain without any decoration at all. On stylistic grounds alone therefore I might hesitate about assigning a date for any one of these vases as between LM. III A 2 and LM. III B. But the stratigraphic evidence to which Professor Palmer has drawn attention seems to me strongly to suggest that the vases of this group were involved in the same destruction by fire as the Linear B

¹² Kadmos IV (1965), 41f.

tablets, the pithoi of the West Magazines and the Palace Style amphorae; and this destruction of the Last Palace I believe with Mr. Popham must be dated to LM. III A 2 and not later.

Some arguments in favour of a LM. III B date for these vases of Group (2) have been based upon a consideration of the evidence from the old excavations (1902—06) at Palaikastro in East Crete. The evidence there does indeed suggest two phases of occupation on the town site during LM. III (LM. III A 2 and LM. III B), followed by an occupation, which may have begun in LM. III B, but which flourished during the early part of LM. III C, on the height of Kastri above¹³. It seems, however, possible that some of the vases from the town site which the excavators of 1902—06 on stylistic grounds assigned to their second phase of LM. III, and which were accepted by Furumark as LM. III B 1 (i. e. LM. III B, as opposed to his LM. III B 2 = III C), were really contemporary with their early LM. III (i. e. LM. III A) material. In practice the chief criterion which the excavators seem to have employed in assigning pottery to their second phase of LM. III appears to have been the carelessness of execution in the decoration of the vases. But most of the vases which they attributed to this second phase of LM. III are exceptionally large, and a certain carelessness of decoration might be expected in the case of such large vases, even if they were contemporary with small vases of fine ware assignable to LM. III A. These vases attributed by Furumark to LM. III B include several large stirrup jars, apparently similar to those of our Group (2) and with similar decoration; a large two-handled crater¹⁴; some large "amphorae", in size and shape somewhat comparable to the Palace Style amphorae of the Last Palace at Knossos, one decorated with an octopus¹⁵; and some oval-mouthed amphorae with trickle ornament¹⁶. The only small vases published are a tankard (of our type 4)¹⁷, and a flask¹⁸. The flask is admittedly of LM. III B date; it appears to be a Myc. III B import from the mainland¹⁹. A fragment of a conical rhyton with an octopus is also ascribed by Furumark to LM. III

¹³ BSA 60 (1965), 269f.

¹⁴ PKU fig. 90

¹⁵ Ibid. figs. 91, 92

¹⁶ Ibid. fig. 97

¹⁷ Ibid. fig. 93

¹⁸ Ibid. fig. 94

¹⁹ Chron MP 108

B 1 (LM. III B)²⁰. It may be that few traces of LM. III A, and still fewer of LM. III B occupation were left on the town site before the excavations began. It is significant, although by no means conclusive, that the recent excavations on the site of the town came upon very few traces of LM. III A occupation and none assignable to LM. III B²¹.

Group (3). I shall consider the vases of this group along with those of Group (2), because it seems likely that they were contemporary with them, although there is a good deal of room for uncertainty about this.

Shapes. The shapes represented among the vases of Groups (2) and (3) could admittedly on present evidence as well belong to vases of LM. III B as to ones of LM. III A 2 date. In a general way several of the shapes are reminiscent of those of vases from the Myc. III B destruction level of Zygyouries on the mainland²². But the shapes of vases in use in LM./Myc. III B do not seem to differ much from those current in LM./Myc. III A 2. Some of the more striking shapes, such as the high-stemmed kylix (type 3) and the ladle (type 8), both current in LM. III B, also occur in LM. III A 2. There were examples of both in bronze in the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth²³, for which it is interesting to note that Evans suggested a date in "the last age of the Palace"²⁴, although Furumark thinks it is contemporary with his Myc. III A 2 *late*²⁵. Champagne cups (type 2) also occur as early as LM. III A 2, although they are common later. The tankard (type 4) approximates to Furumark's type 226, which on the mainland has a range from Myc. III A 2 *late* to Myc. III C 1, rather than to his type 225 (Myc. III A 1—2). But these tankards from Crete are curious in that they have a hole bored before firing through the base, as if they were used as rhytons. I suspect that they may be the LM. III successors of a type of rhyton-goblet common in LM. I B²⁶. Perhaps these Cretan tankards are the ancestors of the Mycenaean

²⁰ PKU fig. 89

²¹ BSA 60 (1965), 251f.

²² Blegen, Zygyouries (1928), 139f.

²³ Evans, The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos (1906), 43 pl. LXXXIX, 14 n. o. PM II fig. 398.

²⁴ PM II 635

²⁵ MP 58

²⁶ E. g. PKU 34 pl. XVIIb

ones of this shape. The spouted tankard (type 6) is a shape which continues into LM. III C; but it was current in LM. III B²⁷, and there seems no reason why it should not have been in use as early as LM. III A 2. The plain bowls (types 9 and 10) approximate to Furumark's type 295 with a range from the beginning of Myc. III A to Myc. III C. It is interesting to note that bowls of this type were recovered from the ruins of the fire-destroyed Palace of Kadmos at Thebes. The material from this destruction level was dated by Furumark to Myc. III A 1; but I have argued that it ought perhaps to be assigned to the succeeding phase, Myc. III A 2²⁸. This would still mean that, as Furumark thought, the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes was destroyed about the same time as the Last Palace at Knossos. The large stirrup jars which feature so prominently in Group (2) are in shape remarkably like those from the great deposit of stirrup jars found at Thebes, where both the simple type (as Nos. 2, 32) which approximates to Furumark's type 164 (Myc. III A 1—B), and the type with a splayed foot (cf. Nos. 1, 16, 31, 34, 35) occur²⁹. A number of these Theban stirrup jars appear in the light of tests on the composition of the clay to be imports from East Crete. This is interesting in view of the similarity which Mrs. Vermeule has noted between the shapes of the stirrup jars from Knossos and those which were being exported to Troy (where it was thought they might be Cretan) and Ugarit in the period about 1400 B. C.³⁰ On the other hand a close parallel for the exceptional stirrup jar No. 20 is cited by Mr. Popham from a tomb near Suda in West Crete dateable to LM. III B³¹. But the shape of No. 20 with its high shoulder and torus disk foot, and the simple decoration of horizontal stripes which it bears, would appear equally possible in LM. III A.

Decoration. The division of one ceramic period from another is for the most part based upon the differences that can be distinguished in the decoration of the fine table wares. But only one of these vases of Groups (2) and (3) has decoration of a kind that is strictly comparable with that found on small vases of fine ware.

²⁷ E. g. Matz, *Forschungen auf Kreta* (1951), 84 No. 4, pl. 65, 3

²⁸ Kadmos IV 43. For the bowls, see AE 1909, 73 fig. 7: 7, 9.

²⁹ Catling and Millett, *A Study of the Inscribed Stirrup-Jars from Thebes*, reprinted from *Archaeometry* 8 (1965), pls. I—XVI A.

³⁰ AJA 67 (1963), 199. Cf. Benson, *Berytus XIV* (1961), 37—51. Blegen, *Troy III* 305f., fig. 330, where 35. 1065 and 36. 1067 look LM. II.

³¹ Matz, *Forschungen auf Kreta* (1951), 83 No. 1, pl. 65, 1

This is the large stirrup jar of type 20 (No. 1) with a flower design on the shoulder (Fig. 2). This flower design was published by Mackenzie³², and Furumark (without knowing the context of the vase on which the design occurred!) assigned it to his LM. III A ²³³. Mr. Popham has argued in favour of a date in LM. III B for this vase on the strength of the wavy band round its body. This he interprets as "clearly an advanced stage in the stylization of octopus tentacles"³⁴. Such wavy bands occur on a number of these large stirrup jars, and their interpretation as degenerate octopus



Fig. 2. Flower design on shoulder of large stirrup Jar (No. 1) from South Terrace Basements

designs apparently goes back to Mackenzie in 1901. It is of course true that, like many other motives of decoration ultimately derived from nature, such as flowers and shells, the octopus during the course of LM./Myc. III tended to develop in the direction of stylisation, and the tentacles therefore increasingly approximated to wavy bands of this kind. But the idea that a single wavy band like this can have degenerated from an octopus is surely erroneous, since these wavy bands are found on stirrup jars which (leaving aside the disputed question of date) are beyond doubt contemporary with others having reasonably life-like octopuses painted on them. Wavy bands are after all common enough as a motive of decoration on vases of different types from at least as early as LM. I B. A large stirrup jar from Mitropolis near Gortyn has been assigned to LM. III B on the strength of the bold wavy band round it. I am inclined to think, however, that the excavator,

³² JHS 23 (1903), 197 fig. 13 top

³³ Chron MP 105

³⁴ SMA V (1964), 13

Professor Levi, is right in asserting that this stirrup jar is of the same period as the rest of the pottery from the building, which is assignable to LM. I B³⁵. The clay idols from this site, and those from Gournia, may also be of LM. I B date and not later as has been assumed. A stirrup jar with a wavy band round it, virtually identical in shape and decoration with Mr. Popham's No. 2, was found in House E at Mallia³⁶. It was assigned by the excavators to LM. III B, apparently on the basis of a comparison with the equivalent vase from Knossos. The stratigraphic situation in House E at Mallia was not altogether clear; but it is interesting to note that the stirrup jars (there were three of them in all) came from a burnt destruction level³⁷.

Several of the other large stirrup jars assignable to our Group (2) have an octopus painted on them. Each octopus is apt to be somewhat of an individual, and I would certainly not feel competent to give a date on stylistic grounds for any one of them as between LM. III A 2 and LM. III B. But in general the octopus designs on these vases appear to correspond more closely to those which Furumark ascribes to Myc. III A than to those which he calls Myc. III B³⁸. On the other hand, both the unusual depressed shape of the stirrup jar No. 12, and the style of the octopus painted on it, seem consistent with the date in LM. III B which Furumark assigns to it. This stirrup jar was apparently found with the little stirrup jars of Group (1) which must be dated to LM. III B. It is important to remember that by an irony of fate this was almost the only large stirrup jar from Knossos with an octopus painted on it to be published before the appearance of Mr. Popham's *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* V (1964). Evans illustrated it, but wrongly assigned it to the Room of the Stirrup Jars on the north edge of the palace³⁹. The destruction of the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes, or that part of it at least that was excavated by Keramopoulos (1906—29), evidently took place in Myc. III A, and perhaps in Myc. III A 2 rather than as Furumark deduced in Myc. III A 1. It is interesting to note that in the deposit of large stirrup jars from the ruins of the Theban palace there were some

³⁵ *Bolletino d'Arte* III (1959), 264 fig. 37a

³⁶ *Mallia Maisons* II (1959), 105, 123, 128, 131 No. 15, pl. XLVII, 6, 8

³⁷ *Ibid.* 105

³⁸ *MP* 302f. Mot. 21

³⁹ *PM* IV 735 fig. 720a

with octopus decoration⁴⁰. It would be desirable to compare these octopus-decorated stirrup jars from Thebes with the equivalent jars from Knossos, and the comparison becomes all the more pertinent in view of the likelihood, as a result of tests on the composition of the clay, that a large proportion of the Theban stirrup jars (although not necessarily any of those with octopus decoration) were imported from East Crete⁴¹.

Some of the designs (e. g. the zig-zag on the cup of type 1 (No. 28), and the running quirk on the spouted tankard of type 5 (No. 22)), could belong to any phase of LM. III. But the flower design on the spouted tankard akin to type 6 (No. 7) is assignable to LM. III A 2 rather than to LM. III B. Mr. Popham aptly compares it with the decoration on the rim of a kylix from Palai-kastro⁴². Furumark dates the design on this kylix rim to LM. III A 1, and it is admittedly somewhat earlier than that on No. 7. The multiple stem design on the tankard of type 6 (No. 6) should also perhaps be dated to LM. III A 2 rather than to LM. III B. The stems here are still reasonably naturalistic, and not very far removed from their ancestors on the flower-decorated vases of LM. II—III A 1⁴³. There is a comparable but rather more stylised version of the same multiple stem design on a fragment of a vase from Amarna, assignable to Myc. III A 2 *late*⁴⁴.

Evans mentions another vase, now lost, as found in the South Terrace Basements and therefore belonging to our Group (2). He describes it as being "in form and ornament almost identical with one from" Ialysos⁴⁵. The vase in question from Ialysos is a squat jar with angular profile and is assigned by Furumark to Myc. III A 1. It is decorated with a row of curve-stemmed spirals of a variety which has a range from Myc. III A 1—2 according to Furumark⁴⁶. A photograph, however, of a jar with angular profile

⁴⁰ OTKT I 203 note 1. They have never been published, but Mr. Catling tells me that some of them are now on exhibition in Thebes Museum

⁴¹ Catling and Millett, *A Study of the Inscribed Stirrup-Jars from Thebes*, reprinted from *Archaeometry* 8 (1965). None of the octopus-decorated jars, however, were among those tested

⁴² PKU fig. 60b

⁴³ E. g. BSA 47 (1952), 272 fig. 14; 53—54 (1958—59), 252 fig. 30, XV. 2

⁴⁴ Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (1894), pl. XXVIII, 59. Cf. MP fig. 47 Mot. 19, especially 29 assigned to Myc. III A 2 *late*

⁴⁵ BSA 7 (1900—01), 12 citing FLMV pl. IX (55, XXXII)

⁴⁶ MP form 19, type 93 No. 9, with Mot. 49, 11 for the decoration. BM Cat A 816

which may be that from the South Terrace Basements which Evans describes has been published by Mr. Popham⁴⁷. The vase in the photograph is more akin to Furumark's type 94 with a range from Myc. III A 2—B, and the decoration round the body appears to be a running spiral which could be of any date within LM. III.

There is a negative argument in regard to the decoration of these vases of Group (2) which may also carry some weight in favour of a LM. III A date for them rather than one in LM. III B. No less than three out of the seven vases of Group (1) are decorated with very distinctive versions of flower designs assignable to LM. III B (Fig. 3), and a fourth, the Mycenaean import, has

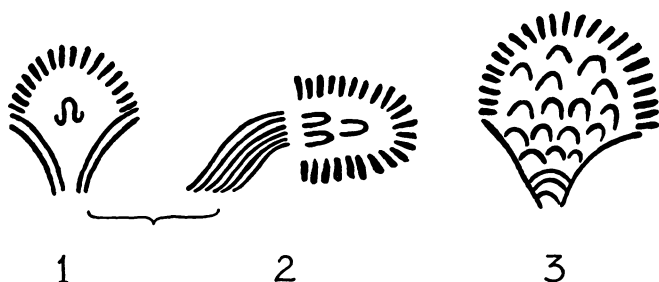


Fig. 3. Flower designs on stirrup Jars of Group (1)

a typical Myc. III B flower painted on it. Mr. Popham has recently published other examples of flowers from Knossian vases like Fig. 3, 2 and 3, and notes that those like 2 are the most common⁴⁸. It is true that these vases of Group (1) are small and of fine ware, while the vases of Group (2) are mostly large storage vessels. It is nevertheless noteworthy that among all the vases of Group (2) there is none with flowers of this kind, and that where a flower design occurs (on the large stirrup jar (No. 1) discussed on p. 125 above) it is distinctly LM. III A 2 in character (Fig. 2).

The Shrine of the Double Axes and its contents (including the vases of Group (3)) may belong to the LM. III A 2 horizon of the Last Palace rather than to LM. III B. It is admittedly curious that a shrine of such "rustic" character should have been established within the borders of the palace; but there is no need to

⁴⁷ SMA V 6 pl. 8(f.)

⁴⁸ BSA 60 (1965), 327 fig. 7, 39—42

suppose that it was the main shrine of the palace, and the south-east quarter of the palace area where it lay might have been reserved for offices or for guest rooms to which a small shrine was attached. Admitting the possibility of a "rustic" shrine of this character within the palace borders, there seems no good reason why the clay idols from it should not be assigned to LM. III A 2 like the comparable idols from Palaikastro⁴⁹. A difficulty, however, is the little pyxis (type 15). Some vases of comparable shape are admittedly late (LM. III C or LM. III B at the earliest)⁵⁰. But this type of vase is comparatively rare, and the shape, like so many others current in LM. III B—C, may perhaps go back into LM. III A.

One unique vase assignable to Group (2) is the lentoid flask (No. 21) from the Corridor of the Stone Basin north of the Throne Room. This evidently comes from the destruction level of the Last Palace as Professor Palmer has shown⁵¹. The shape is rare, and this vase in the arrangement of its handles appears to be without any parallel. There are some very late flasks of this general shape assignable to LM. III C and Sub-Minoan, if not Protogeometric and Geometric times. But two small flasks of this shape from Rhodes, both decorated with concentric circles like No. 21, are dated by Furumark to Myc. III A 2⁵². Mr. Popham cites as a parallel for No. 21 a large flask from tomb A at Moulana (LM. III C). This is not, however, strictly comparable; it is much larger (height 0.43 as opposed to 0.24), and as the excavator Xanthoudides noted it is not lentoid in shape but spherical. Xanthoudides indeed emphasised that the spherical shape was unusual, but observed that flasks of the lentoid shape had a long history in Crete and were already being made there during the Kamares period (i. e. in Middle Minoan times)⁵³.

Summary. I believe that the stratigraphic evidence and other considerations of a general character strongly favour the view that the vases of Group (2) belong to the horizon of the destruction

⁴⁹ PKU 88f. fig. 71. Cf. Two from the Mavrospelio cemetery (BSA 28, 290f. pl. XXI and fig. 43), and one from the Little Palace (OTKT II 65 pl. XVIa)

⁵⁰ BSA 55 (1960), 18f. fig. 12: 4, 5; 53—54 (1958—59), 248 VII. 11. PKU 97 fig. 81

⁵¹ Antiquity 36 (1962), 48f. pl. XIIb. OTKT I 216—7, pl. XIII

⁵² MP 67 form 47, type 186. BM Cat A 884—5

⁵³ AE 1904, 36 and 27 fig. 6: 1. Cf. Blegen, Troy III 60f. A flask of grey Minyan ware from Troy VI has additional small handles, although they are not arranged in the same way as on the Knossian flask

of the Last Palace, which appears to be dateable on the basis of the fine decorated ware assignable to it within LM. III A 2. While admitting that Mr. Popham may prove to be right in his suggestion that the destruction of the Last Palace took place early in LM. III A 2 (before 1375 B. C.) rather than towards the middle or end of it (about 1350 B. C. or later), I feel it necessary to reserve judgement until the whole of the evidence bearing upon the question has been published and made available. On considering the shapes and the style of decoration of the vases of Group (2) I find some indications which suggest a date for them within the borders of LM. III A 2, and no compelling evidence against such a date. I am less certain in regard to the vases of Group (3) from the Shrine of the Double Axes; but on the whole I think that they and the other contents of the Shrine are likely to belong to the Last Palace and are therefore dateable to LM. III A 2 and not later. The vases of Group (1) have no stratigraphic connection with those of Groups (2) and (3), and represent a reoccupation (whether of a domestic or religious character) of an area on the south edge of the destroyed palace site in LM. III B.

Appendix

In the Second Revised Edition of his *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, London 1965, p. 320, Professor Palmer has added a Postscript.

"In a lecture given in London on 30 September 1964 Mr. Sinclair Hood, who has been one of Evans's main defenders, made the following admissions.

(1) The 'reoccupation' at Knossos is a myth invented by Evans and Mackenzie.

(2) The Linear B tablets and associated sealings were found in the same horizon of destruction as the so-called 'reoccupation' pottery, 'as Professor Palmer has emphasized'.

(3) Pottery of the styles LM II, LM III A and LM III B occurred in one and the same destruction deposit.

(4) As far as he could see, there was no evidence for A. Furumark's chronology of Late Minoan pottery.

(5) He was uncertain about the chronological gap between the destructions of Knossos and Pylos: 'there was still a lot of work to be done on the dating of the pottery'.

This concedes the main theses of this book. Mr. Hood proposes a drastic updating of LM III B pottery. Thus his present position is this: Evans was wrong in his facts, but also wrong in his pottery dating. By this double error he arrived at approximately the right chronology."

The first two statements (1) and (2) are a reasonable summary of my views. But the last three (3), (4) and (5), are somewhat misleading.

(3) I believe that the pithoi of the West Magazines, the great Palace Style amphorae, and much of the pottery which Evans and Mackenzie assigned to the Reoccupation, occurred in one and the same destruction level of the Last Palace as the Linear B tablets. The Last Palace was destroyed in LM III A; but some of the pithoi and Palace Style amphorae may have been made in LM II and survived in use. I have tried to argue that the pottery assigned by Evans and Mackenzie to the Reoccupation has been misdated by Furumark writing in 1941 and by others since (but not, as I believe, by Evans!) to the 13th century B. C., when the style called by Furumark LM III B 1 was current.

(4) It was only in respect to the pottery which Evans and Mackenzie had assigned to the Reoccupation that I could see no evidence for Furumark's dating it to LM III B. I have in fact argued that on the basis of Furumark's own criteria of style this pottery should be assigned to LM III A and not to LM III B.

(5) I am inclined to think, although this is highly speculative pending the full publication of the material, that Pylos was destroyed about 1230 B. C. or a decade earlier rather than about 1200 B. C. If Knossos was destroyed about 1350 B. C. (or as Mr. Popham suggests about 1380 B. C.) the gap between the destructions of Knossos and Pylos could be rather more than a century instead of two centuries.

I do not of course, suggest, as Professor Palmer implies, any drastic updating of the whole class of pottery which is by definition LM III B.

So far from disagreeing with the pottery dating of Evans, I accept it in the case of the material assigned to the Reoccupation as against the dating proposed by Furumark and others. For, as I have emphasised, while Evans called this pottery which he assigned to the Reoccupation "LM III B: Reoccupation", he appears to have thought of it as belonging to the period of Amarna in the

14th century B. C. (that is, the period which Furumark has named LM III A), and not as contemporary with that style of pottery which flourished during the 13th century B. C. and which Furumark has named LM III B 1. Evans and Furumark, that is to say, meant different things by LM III B; and I believe that Evans was right in his dating of this so-called Reoccupation pottery to the 14th century B. C., although in error in assigning it to a period after the destruction of the Last Palace which he dated about 1400 B. C. What lies behind this error, if it was one, I have tried to explain elsewhere (Kadmos IV (1965), 16—44), showing that it was altogether reasonable and based upon a correct appraisal of style at the time.

It is my own belief that the position which I have adopted in regard to these problems connected with the Last Palace and Reoccupation at Knossos is the one that in its essentials is the most in harmony with the views of Evans, and the one that pays the most respect to his observations, judgements and opinions. This is of course arguable, and most of those involved in the consideration of these problems would no doubt make a similar claim.

Abbreviations used

AE	Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
BM Cat	Forsdyke, Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum, Vol. I, Part 1, Prehistoric Aegean Pottery (1926)
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
Chron MP	Furumark, The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery (1941)
FLMV	Furtwängler and Loeschke, Mykenische Vasen
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
MP	Furumark, The Mycenaean Pottery (1941)
OTKT I/II	Palmer and Boardman, On The Knossos Tablets (1963)
PKU	Bosanquet and Dawkins, The Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations 1902—1906, Part I (BSA Supplementary Paper No. 1) (1923)
PM	Evans, The Palace of Minos I—IV (1921—35)
SMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology